1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba



First, when Roko Sau ordered a "net of the dead," (p. 183) or some such large canoe he would prepare gifts which were known as *mbutambuta*, amounting perhaps to a hundred whale's teeth, two to ten rolls of coir rope, and so forth; sometimes a woman was given. A nobleman was sent to Kambara to provide food for the carpenters; he would go to Vulanga and other islands to collect food. While the work was in progress it was forbidden to step over the boards under a fine. When the keel was laid down (*utu a takele*) a feast amounting to as many as a hundred pigs was held and more gifts were given. Another feast was held when the hull was about to be taken down to the sea for polishing with sand; some hundred men would work at this task, and the owners of the canoe made the feast. A third festival (*solevu*) took place when the two hulls were connected together with outrigger booms. These three feasts, the laying down of the keel, the polishing of the hull, and the joining of the canoes were the largest feasts. Of old as many as five men would be killed on those occasions, baked and eaten, or a woman would be brought raw (*kau ndroka mai*); some handsome young men or some one against whom the owners had a grudge would be enticed to Kambara, killed and eaten. When the second Tui Naiau's eldest son's canoe was built, Lemaki heard the herald in offering up the feast apologize that he had not brought a man to eat or a raw woman "for Christianity," he explained "spoils our feasts and bars the way."

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I could discover no charms to make a canoe strong or lucky; but certain tapu had to be observed;

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No woman might touch the canoe or she would have to pray for mercy with gifts and a feast; a woman might not embark on it while it was a "new canoe" until a ceremony had been performed. No one might eat on board until kava had been made on board the canoe. This was called "eating on account of" (or sitting across) (*kana mbaleti*), and was sometimes held in Lakemba, in which event no one was permitted to eat or smoke on the journey to Lakemba; but sometimes it was performed in Kambara to enable the crew to eat on the way.

When the canoe arrived in Lakemba a big feast and much stuff was prepared. The Lemaki offered up to the chief who was sitting at kava the bailer of the canoe, as a sign of ownership. A man with a good voice proclaimed the canoe in the center of the village, so that the people might know of it. Then a lady (*ngone marama*) young or old, was chosen to embark on the canoe. Bark cloth was wrapped around her waist until she could not walk and had to be carried aboard, followed by the other women also heavily wrapped. They all left their dresses on board; sometimes enough to fill two houses. This ceremony was called embarking on the canoe (*vondoki a wangga*).

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inches each; scrape all thoroughly that no part be omitted; the *ndenimana* should be nethermost, the mangrove between, and the greenheart of India on top. The ointment; four leaves of *wavoti* laid with the stems alternately; then cut up with scissors and add oil; warm it in four leaves of *kura one*. Tapu: stepping over running water.

*Sasala*.—A superficial pain, as of the pricking of the skin. Comes on when there are heavy black clouds. Dr. B. C. Corney says "roughly speaking *sasala* means either flying muscular pains, or pains caused by *lymphangitis*." It also applies to neuralgia.

*Seua*.—Either the name of a cure or of a disease. Remedy: chew four banyan leaves; dab the ears, then rub; apply for four days. Tapu: wind and sun. No kava is offered to spirits, nor was it ever the custom to do so. The remedy belongs to the family in Waitambu. My informant learned it from his mother, who got it from her mother, who stroked his hand as she gave it to him. Another man could not use the remedy: it would not be efficacious (*mana*). My informant was reluctant to disclose his knowledge of the cure.

*Ngata* (*snake*).—A term applied to various diseases, so called because they begin in the legs and rise to the stomach, when the patient vomits. "It is only the snake in the abdomen that does so." A short snake is believed to possess the hand (*ngata leka tu i linga*). Remedy from the Moala notebook: Leaves of *walai* and the top shoot of a reed; bring them home, pound, and drink. No tapu.

Sting.—To cure a sting of the *kamboa* fish, hold the foot over a fire of grass and *sinu* leaves.

*Tandoka*.—An illness caused by not observing the restrictions on the diet prescribed, it may occur to one circumcised who goes about instead of lying still. Remedies: (a) *Mbele ni ndawa loa* and leaves of *matiyavi*; wrap, pound and drink. No tapu.

Wounds in the eye.—Remedy: Take four leaves of *losilosi* and four top shoots of reeds; chew together and squeeze, then pour on the eye.

Wounds of the body. Remedy: Take four new leaves of *mau*, chew and use as lotion, blow three times on it, do not blow the fourth time. Bathe on the fourth day. No tapu.

A congested bruise is called "dead blood."

Wry-neck.—It is believed that this ailment is caused by a dead tendon in the neck.

Yaws.—Elsewhere in Fiji mothers think their children ought to get yaws, or they will not be strong. I believe it is the same in Lau. Premature healing is believed to be fatal. It is said that the yaws have retreated inside. An after-effect is a sore underfoot which the natives call *suthuve* but do not connect with the disease. Sores are often said "to smell the ground," and so hurt.

## Tongan Remedies

The Tongan word for remedy is *faitoo* which the Lauans make into *faito*. Tonga is a land of remedies; there are many many things that are supernaturally effective.

*Fuafua* (in Tongan *fuofua*) arises inside and aches inside.—A Tongan woman treated by dipping the stopper of a bottle in oil and rubbing the meatus of the ear. There is no prayer. The remedy is ineffective except when transferred. Wind and sea are tapu.

*Matafa*.—Explained as "the corner of the eye," the nature of the ailment was not made clear to me. Remedy: Take the stem of a *Dracaena* leaf, touch the eyeball with it, break off the tip that has touched the eye, repeating four or five times. Tapu: sun and wind.

*Kulakula* (Tongan, *kulokula*).—Translated as "red." I saw the treatment applied to an abscess in the arm: the leech, a woman, dipped her fingers in pounded leaves of *molau* and smeared (*wali*) the arm lightly. This is done every day, morning and evening, perhaps for five or six consecutive days. The body may be bathed, but not

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The chief is surrounded by a court of retainers (*tamata ni turanga*), which include his herald, jester (*tamata ni lasa* or *ndauveilakalasai*), go-between in courtship (*ramuaoli*), numerous relatives, and servants. There are also envoys for each island or island group in the chiefdom who are called *mata ki Kambara, mata ki Mothe*, and so forth.

The high chief and his family live in a compound facing the ceremonial ground in the chief's village of Tumbou, Lakemba. The chief's houses are large and set upon high mounds, a symbol of rank. The chief's houses, his canoes and kava bowls are decorated with cowry (*mbuli*) shells, an emblem of rank. Formerly a strip of barkcloth (*tawake*) attached like a flag to the canoe mast, served as an emblem of chieftainship.

The high chief has heavy responsibilities in the maintenance of his clan obligations and ceremonial court life. He has a large number of dependents including many of his relatives and retainers, whom he must feed. Because of the soliciting and *vasu* systems (pp. 62-64, 207-208) he is constantly approached for gifts or loans.

The chief and his court are maintained by a system of tribute collected from the islands of his realm. Much of the tribute is presented at Lakemba by representatives from each island in the form of ceremonial gifts at the marriage, installation, and death of the chief or his near relatives. Collections are made by representatives of the chief or by his sister's son (*vasu*), as when Lakemba takes part in a large ceremonial exchange with one of the other chiefdoms such as Mbau or Rewa.

The high chief is sacred. As the shrine of ancestor gods of highest rank he has more mana than anyone else in his chiefdom. An elaborate system of tabus protects him. His head, the center of mana, is the most sacred part of his person. It may not be touched, nor may his comb and headrest be used by anyone else. (See 27, vol. 1, p. 25.) Only a man of high rank is allowed to wear a turban (*faufau*) in the village. The chief's wearing apparel and sleeping mats are tabu. Only a chief may wear the long streamers of barkcloth (*tchini puli*) as part of his ceremonial, the chest band (*wambale*), or the breast plate inlaid with mother-of-pearl (*thiva vonovono*). Only a member of the chief's family is allowed to wear a hair ornament of feathers (*tekiteki*). The royal staff (*matanakilangi*), presented to the high chief at his installation, is also an emblem of royalty (27, vol. 1, p. 25).

Elaborate rites mark the installation, marriage, and death of a chief. Ceremonies also mark his reception on outlying islands, the payment of tribute, building and launching of a chief's canoe, building of a chief's house, and life crises of members of the chief's immediate family. Many of these ceremonies once involved human sacrifice.

For further information concerning the high chief and his court see Hocart (15, pp. 50-58).

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by the *takala* which I have called chief's administrator. He is also of the land group. Informants say that the title of herald came with the Tongans, while that of the *takala* is old. The *takala* assists in the presentation and division of the tribute of first fruits. The title of *takala* is absent on Kambara and Namuka, but the titles of *takala* and herald are both found on Fulanga.

The title of *vaka vanua* (*vaka*), which I have called chief of crops, is found on every island. It is held by a clan of the land phratry. The chief of crops has charge of ceremonial presentations to the chief. These are usually in the form of feasts. He organizes all the large island feasts, informs each village of the amount of food it must contribute and prepare, and on the day of the feast receives and inspects the share of each village on the ceremonial ground of the chief's village. He divides the feast into two parts: the chief's share (*mangitchi ni vanua*), and the people's share (*lutu ni mangitchi*); and he presents the chief's share to the chief. If the high chief from Lakemba or his representative is present, the envoy to Lakemba makes the ceremonial presentation. The chief of crops is custodian of the fruits of the land. He has charge of the resources of the island for the offering of first fruits, garden produce, and fish, which is made to the chief of the island at the time of the ripening of each tribute crop or at the tribute fish season. It is his duty to place and remove the tabu on fruits, to arrange for their collection, and with the help of the chief's administrator to make the presentation to the chief. If pigs are needed by the chief he hangs a piece of charred wood from the earth oven outside the door of the chief's house. Then he calls, "Tambu puaka, yei!" (Tabu pigs, yei!) No pigs may be killed until the chief of crops sets a day for the presentation of pigs to the chief. The tabu conserves the food supply, since it prevents the crop from being eaten before it has reached maturity and its highest food value. On islands where food is scarce, such a check is important.

On some islands the duties of the chief of crops are performed by the chief's administrator and conversely. For instance, on Mothe the chief of crops has charge of the fruit crops on the south side of the island, whereas the chief's administrator has charge on the north. The chief's administrator makes the ceremonial presentation to the chief. On Mothe the chief of crops is the chief's assistant and spokesman. At times the duties of the chief of crops and chief's administrator overlap. On Fulanga both assist the master fisherman in communal net fishing. Either the chief of crops or the chief's administrator may cast the first spear. As a rule the younger of the two men gives precedence to the older.

The professional title of master fisherman (*ndʻu ni nggoli*) is held by a clan on each island. The master fisherman is in charge of the communal fishing and turtle fishing and is responsible for the protection of the fishing grounds. When fish are desired for a feast, permission for the communal

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576 When the native code of etiquette deals with the sacredness
643 of chieftainship it is upheld by the tabu system. The tabu
784 system serves to protect the sacred "mana" of the ancestor gods and their direct descendants, the chiefs. High Lauan chiefs are still surrounded by strict tabus which regulate their contact with the world to the minutest detail. For instance, in the presence of the high chief, even today, no native of lower rank is allowed to stand erect. If possible, a person sits crosslegged, bowed, and silent at some distance from him. If it is necessary to walk, a person bends almost to a right angle and backs out of the chief's presence.

576 Infringement of the sacred tabus was formerly punished by
784 death. Illness is believed automatically to follow the breaking
753 of less sacred tabus. We have seen that a nursing mother is not allowed to have sexual intercourse, because if she does her child will be unable to walk upright. If a pregnant woman
[842] or her husband eats fish which has been cut in small pieces the body of the new born infant will be afflicted with sores.

576 The native code of etiquette and the tabu system still cover
784 many of the judicial needs of the Lauans. Although a break
671 of the sacred tabus is no longer punished by death, the tabu
648 system is still upheld to some extent, and public opinion is as strong as ever. The native tabu system, however, does not encompass the new moral code introduced by the missionaries and upheld by the government, nor is it effective as a sanction for government regulations. Although some of these innovations, especially those connected with Christianity, have become a part of the accepted code of behavior and hence are backed by public opinion, there are many which have not been so wholeheartedly endorsed by the group. To cover the needs of the new political regime a new system of law and its enforcement has been devised by the government. It supplements the native code and deals chiefly with maladjustments which arise from the introduction of new regulations.